World Alliance News Letter

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HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL

Addressed to the American People

HAVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE entirely lost faith in the democratic process? Do they really know what is happening with respect to USA foreign policy? Do they realize that the implementation of a constructive long-range foreign policy is being hamstrung by a neo-isolationism which operates under the guise of national frugality?

If the American people realize what is taking place, why are they silent? Has the courage of our progressive leaders become so softened that they no longer have the dynamic to take a forthright stand? Has the insidious fear of being labeled "communist" or "fellow-traveler" paralyzed the people's power to act?

Take, for example, recent attempts to cut foreign aid. We are given to understand that most USA citizens see the necessity to help our allies and thus strengthen the free world. It has become self-evident that military aid is not enough. In fact, specialists inform us that military aid cannot make any country in Western Europe strong unless it is coupled with enough economic aid to enable that country to build a viable economy. The 18 countries of Western Europe represented in the Marshall Plan Council recently gathered in a meeting preliminary to the Ottawa discussions on the North Atlantic rearmament plans; they made clear that unless the economic progress already made can be maintained and further stimulated, military efforts cannot be successfully carried through. If at this crucial time the USA slashes its foreign aid program and tries to direct it entirely into rearmament channels, we can be certain that our efforts to strengthen the free world will dismally fail.

WE ARE GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND that the vast majority of people in this country back up the United Nations. Even while they are realistic about the world organization's weaknesses and do not over-rate its successes — however impressive they may be — yet, in general, they seem to grasp one basic idea: namely, that the only hope of averting global war lies in an international organization which will gradually increase its power to keep the peace within the hurly-burly of competing nationalisms. Yet there is no significant protest when niggardly cuts are made in the sums of money already promised by the USA to the UN.

The imagination of the American people was caught by the proposal for technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Yet our Point Four program has thus far been on an infinitesimal scale. The few individuals who have urgently called for a vast technical assistance program as the best means for developing a strong and healthy free world have indeed been voices crying in a wilderness of apathy. There is at present no indication that a Point Four program, large enough to be truly effective, will be carried out.

The history of the past two decades, since this country passed the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill, would seem to teach us that the best chance to develop the conditions for international cooperation and amity lies in the progressive building up of reciprocal world trade. Yet we do not take the leadership in ridding the world of artificial trade barriers. We do not foster wide support for the International Trade Organization nor seek ways to give it permanent status as a specialized agency in the UN. Contrariwise, we are exerting every effort to stop East-West trade. Yet it is a most elementary principle that the only way to insure a viable European economy is to build up East-West trade.

IT MAY BE that the American people support all of these expedient short-range proposals — proposals pressed in the face of the State Department's best efforts to develop a long-range foreign policy. It may be that the American people are not willing to make the sacrifices involved in high taxes if we are to give adequate foreign aid, if we are to provide even more than our share of the United Nations budget, if we are to build up an effective Point Four program. However, unless we take positive steps now to push into action — regardless of cost — a positive foreign policy which will have some possibility of success, we will increase the chances of global war becoming inevitable. We must take to heart the words of Justice Brandeis: "The inevitable is only that which we do not resist."

The issue involved is moral. Therefore, churchmen and all leaders concerned about the ethical foundation of our democracy must whet a prophetic cutting edge on their social action activity, as it impinges on USA foreign policy.

Several years ago Karl Mannheim wrote: "There are constellations in history in which certain possibilities have their chance, and if these are missed the opportunity may well be gone for ever." We are within such a historical constellation now. No one denies the present responsibility of the United States with its vast economic and military power. What the American people do within the immediate months ahead may well prove to be decisive.

ITEMS OF INTEREST

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Theodore Ainsworth Greene, who died June 10, 1951, was one of the most energetic and beloved members of the Executive Committee of the World Alliance and of many other organizations, a number of which he helped to organize. He and Dr. Roy Houghton served with Dr. Atkinson in organizing and carrying through the administrative details of the Stockholm Conference out of which grew the present World Council of Churches. For 26 years as pastor of the First Congregational Church in New Britain, Connecticut, Dr. Greene held a place of high esteem in the community and state. His associates in the Alliance join his family and many friends in mourning his loss.

As associates of Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard, who died on July 10, 1951, we join in loving sympathy to her family and multitude of friends. She worked long and faithfully for the establishment of Israel. For years she served as secretary to Dr. Chaim Weizmann and so learned more than almost anyone else the real purposes and possibilities of Zionism. As a director of the American Palestine Committee she proved her ability and commended herself to all her associates. Mrs. Shepard was a person of beautiful personality and leaves a rich legacy of work well done.

United Nations Week

Plans for the observance of United Nations Week from October 21 to 27 are being laid in numerous churches, synagogues and communities throughout the country. A considerable number of mayors will issue proclamations about United Nations Day (October 24th). It is hoped that religious agencies throughout the land will assume leadership in their communities for the arrangement of significant celebrations. This is an opportunity to stir deeper concern for the UN as the world's best hope for peace.

Three national organizations can give specialized help to synagogues, churches and communities in making plans for UN Day and UN Week. (1) The Church Peace Union has prepared a UN Week leaflet comprising program suggestions for churches, synagogues and other religious organizations. Single copies of this leaflet are free on request. (2) National Citizens' Committee for UN Day (816 21st Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.) has available much material on UN Day such as kits, news releases, glossy prints, etc. (3) American Association for the United Nations (45 E. 65th St., New York 21) has free lists of available material which includes pamphlets, posters, flags, etc.

Canadian-USA Conference

The Canadian and United States branches of th World Alliance will hold a joint meeting in Rochester N. Y. the second week in November. The theme of th conference will be: "Toward A Free World Charter" During the conference the American Council will hol its annual business meeting. Dr. Walter D. Head president, will give his annual report and officers wil be elected for the coming year. The conference is bein arranged cooperatively by officers of the Canadia and American Councils and a local committee i Rochester.

Biography of Theodore Marburg

Theodore Marburg: The Man and His Work is th title of a 300-page biography written by Dr. Henry A Atkinson. Theodore Marburg was a close friend o Dr. Atkinson and widely known for his diplomati work and for his leadership in movements whic sought the establishment of world peace. The biog raphy will be of special interest to friends of Th Church Peace Union and World Alliance. Theodor Marburg's son, Col. Charles L. Marburg, who is als active in the World Federation of United Nation Associations and in the AAUN, is chairman of th Executive Committee of The Church Peace Union The biography will be ready for distribution in Octo ber. Its price is $3.00.

Institute of Pacific Relations

A statement about the Institute of Pacific Relation was recently released. Among the signers are suc nationally known leaders as Dr. M. Searle Bates, D Clyde Eagleton, Dr. John K. Fairbank, Dr. Pau Hutchinson, Dr. Kenneth S. Latourette, Dr. Reinhol Niebuhr and Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. The statemen is of such significance at the present moment that w believe readers of the *News Letter* will be intereste in seeing it in its entirety. The statement reads a follows:

"The undersigned persons, responsible in differen capacities for work of international scope in educa tional, philanthropic, and religious fields, desire upo our own initiative to give public testimony to th value of the work of the Institute of Pacific Rel tions. For twenty-five years the international confe ences and the periodicals conducted by the Institut and above all its extensive and varied research studi and treatises upon the economic and political life an the international relations of the countries of Ea and Southeast Asia, with their neighbors in the enti Pacific area, have been incomparably the most com plete source of information in these most importa fields.

"Differing among ourselves in political outlook and in many matters of opinion, we appreciate the accomplishment of the Institute of Pacific Relations in securing a comprehensive variety of factual studies and representations of opinion. For only by such broad coverage could the extraordinary complexity of the Oriental and Pacific regions be adequately reported. We believe that both the method and the results shown in the work of the Institute are important for the operations of a free democracy in the international field, and we deplore the efforts currently made to discredit the Institute.

"Our own observation of the open procedures of the Institute of Pacific Relations, in which a number of us have actively participated as conference delegates, as trustees or committee members, or as authors of study papers, confirms the confidence of the reputable foundations and firms which have continuously supported the work of this highly useful organization. Hundreds of our own colleagues, business men, editors, educators, directors of philanthropic and religious enterprises, benefit directly from its studies and publications. So do some members of the Senate."

The Integration of Education

New York University will introduce, this year, a special course of study designed for teachers. Known as The Frontier of Knowledge, the key concepts of the natural sciences will be appraised for their relevance to the educational process.

The course will seek to develop not only improved insight into the relations between the sciences and the humanities, but it will press beyond the boundaries of specific areas of study to universal principles, without which no phase of life can be fully understood. The result, it is anticipated, will be the development of a technique for the ethical application of scientific method to current problems of life.

The course is a part of the extensive program of The Foundation of Integrated Education, 130 East 44th Street, New York 17. Among those heading this experiment in education will be Henry Margenau, Kirtley F. Mather, W. Seifriz, Paul B. Sears, F. S. C. Northrop, Edmund W. Sinnott and F. L. Kunz.

A Prayer for Social Justice

Grant us grace fearlessly to contend against evil, and to make no peace with oppression; and, that we may reverently use our freedom, help us to employ it in the maintenance of justice among men and nations.

Book of Common Prayer

PERSONAL INTERCHANGE OF IDEAS

Next to television, letter writing is probably the most popular indoor pastime, although the "art" of correspondence, until quite recently, was considered to be on the decline. The resurgence of interest in such literary contact, instead of being purely personal, is now, however, international and quite objective in character. Entailing as it does definite responsibility in regard to views being shared, opinions have given way to facts, while predilections have made way for intelligent analysis and unbiased truths concerning environmental and national affairs.

In regard to this new approach toward correspondence, three organizations in this country are especially active. During 1944, Miss Clara Leiser began a world-wide letter-writing exchange for young people (between 17-25 years of age) known as YOUTH OF ALL NATIONS, INC., 16 St. Luke's Place, New York 14. A non-profit, non-sectarian, non-political group, its purpose is to help youthful citizens of all countries, regardless of race, color or religion, to understand each other by means of a carefully guided interchange of letters.

Through LETTERS ABROAD, 1411 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania, some 50,000 people are being assisted, in a similar manner, in regard to letter writing: insurance salesmen, publishers, factory workers, students, housewives, farmers — all have been "paired" according to individual interests with those in far off lands. Besides this, the organization is at present handling much of the correspondence and translation work of PEN PALS, a group of well-informed high school students who met during the international Youth Forums which were instituted by the *New York Herald Tribune.*

Also, by means of a weekly column in 27 foreign language newspapers (material which is also being utilized by 186 radio programs), LETTERS FROM AMERICA is reaching some 250,000,000 people. This campaign of the Common Council for American Unity, 20 West 40th Street, New York City, is a means of suggesting to first and second generation Americans that they should stop and think before writing to friends or relatives abroad. The news release is not propaganda, simply an effort to instruct new Americans in giving, through letter writing, a correct and honest impression of this country. Although the column is designed only for the press, radio, clubs and religious groups, a Letter Writing Guide is available, at the above address, to all who are seriously interested in the project.

YOUR WORLD – TWELVE YEARS FROM NOW

A Survey of Unesco Activities

Unesco's sixth General Conference, held in Paris during July, put into action a 12-year plan which will raise the standard of living for countless millions throughout the world. This heroic project considers the needs of each strata of society, so that all educated as well as underprivileged groups, wherever they live, will be benefited.

The delegations of Unesco's 64 member countries are basically concerned with finding the causes of suffering, whether due to war or otherwise, and then using the most practical and modern methods of education, science and culture to create and restore a healthy standard of living.

The educational aspect of Unesco's program has expanded until it now reaches many diverse groups. Answering a demand by industrial workers in many lands for more knowledge having to do with world affairs, a center has been established for the training of specialists in this particular field. Other specialists are already at the disposition of the member States for the revising and improving of educational systems, this covering the rewriting of history and geography textbooks, action in support of women's education and the world-wide teaching of the rights of man. Much attention is being given to youth movements, especially along lines of international contacts and exchange of students, since these groups year by year will help to insure the moral and intellectual solidarity of mankind. Also, the 114 desert schools for Arab refugee children continue to be a basis for true friendship in the Near East.

Unesco's Cultural Activities

The cultural activities of Unesco are concerned with the furthering of world intellectual cooperation and the preservation of man's cultural heritages, this including copyright protection to writers and artists. During the coming year, much assistance will be given to such organizations as the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, the International Theatre Institute, the Music Council and the Council of Museums. There will be a meeting of thinkers, scientists and writers in Geneva and an international conference of artists in Venice. Diffusion of culture through translations of the classics of the 64 member countries is being helped by Unesco's Coupon Service whereby books, as well as films and scientific equipment, can be purchased in one's own currency from another country.

Industrial development today, linked to education, undoubtedly contributes to the improvement of living conditions everywhere, thus giving man the prospect of living a balanced life while developing his abilities to the full. However, such technical and scientific development, Unesco believes, should be adapted only in such a manner that protects the indigenous cultural heritage of each group and individual. In such a light, Unesco is approaching its major plan for the coming years.

Periodicals Dealing with Unesco

Courier. Monthly. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

Unesco News. Monthly. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. $1.00 per year.

Impetus. Bi-Monthly. Distributed without charge by Commission on Educational Reconstruction, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Definite attention is, therefore, finally being given to the one billion, two hundred million illiterates throughout the world, a figure which represents not only ignorance but ill-health, hunger and misery. Through a 12-year program of fundamental education, Unesco is establishing training centers in six critical areas, so that a practical kind of knowledge will enable this strata of society to overcome immediate environmental obstacles. By the end of the 12-year period, there will be 4,200 specialists, capable of organizing in the most underdeveloped localities a complete form of education, from teaching the alphabet and hygiene to household techniques, from training for rural industries to scientific farming and soil conservation. Simply from an agricultural standpoint, such a program is of the greatest importance since the world's population is increasing by 50,000 a day, while there continues to be very little increase in the world's food supply.

Unesco in Local Communities

This program, as well as Unesco's other activities, postulates techniques, tools and, above all — experts. Because of such needs, every elementary and high school should, at the present time, be giving credits for courses pertaining to Unesco. There is not a phase of education, the natural and social sciences, or culture that does not fall into Unesco's world plan. The immediate present is the time that the youths of this country should be given a focal point in regard to education that will enable them, twelve years from now, to be leaders in the fields of world culture, fundamental education, world thought and world science. With such foresight, we might with confidence, even now, envisage a world of peace, a world in which all types of illiteracy and suffering will have been eliminated, — a world in which each man will be able to live constructively amidst a mutually appreciative, intelligently integrated world society.

HOLBROOK LIBRARY PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

I have just returned from my third visit to Palestine. The Arab problem struck me each time in an entirely different way. In 1926 my wife and I lived for five months near the Arab section of the Old City of Jerusalem. Our neighbors were colorful and gracious. In hikes through the country we ate and slept in Arab homes. Hostility among the Arabs had not yet been mobilized by the dominant effendi class who resented Zionism primarily as a threat to the feudal system of which they were the chief beneficiaries. The ordinary Arab was simply grateful for the improved living conditions which the Jews had brought to him.

By 1937 the entire atmosphere had changed. Unsafe conditions throughout the land led us to live with our young children in the all-Jewish city of Tel-Aviv. In 1937 there were Arab riots against the Jews. Rocks were thrown at us when we passed through Arab towns. Moshe Sharett (then Shertok) invited my young son and myself to join him and his son on a trip through the northern settlements; our car was equipped with bullet-proof glass.

Arab hostility sprang from two fears. The first was baseless and artificially stimulated. The illiterate peasants were told by their unscrupulous rulers that the Jews had designs on the Moslem religion and its holy places. The other fear was real and valid. This was the natural and justifiable fear of being dominated by the ingenious, energetic westernized Jews. This fear-born hostility had become so strong that a Royal Commission proposed in 1937 — what actually transpired under UN auspices in 1948 — the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. The Jews would have accepted such a solution. The Arab leaders would not even consider it. They also remained unalterably opposed to Jewish immigration. The combination of Arab intransigeance, bad judgment and military weakness, together with irresistible Jewish need, led ultimately to the UN partition decision, the establishment of the State of Israel and humiliating defeat in a war against the Jews.

ISRAEL FACES HER NEIGHBORS WITH CONFIDENCE

As a result, by the summer of 1951, Arab-Jewish relations have become almost unrecognizable. Day after day I saw boat loads and plane loads of Jews arrive in Israel, unhampered by Arab or British resistance. I heard an Arab member make a speech in the Parliament of Israel, and saw Arabs vote in the general election. We went sightseeing, unafraid, in Acre, Lydda, Jaffa, Nazareth, where formerly no Jew could have walked in safety. The essence of the matter is that the Jews now have their fate in their own hands. Acting from strength and a sense of the justness of their cause, they face their neighbors with confidence.

Nevertheless, all responsible Israelis know that the peaceful solution of the Arab problem is their primary concern. They are surrounded by hostile Arab nations preparing for "the second round". Israel suffers a terrific wastage of man power and money to meet military needs. The integration of the Jewish state into the economy of the Middle East would be of immense help to Jews and Arabs. What stands in the way of such a solution?

1. *The Arabs within Israel.* In law and in fact they have been granted complete political, economic and social equality with the Jews. Nevertheless, they remain bitter and untrustworthy; this was again demonstrated by the high percentage of the Arabs who in the last election voted communist as a protest against the Jewish state.

2. *Arab refugees.* Dependable figures are not available, but it is likely that at least half a million Arabs were displaced from the area now comprising the State of Israel. They were not driven out by the Jews. Their own leaders urged them to leave temporarily in the expectation of an early Arab victory whereupon they would return not only to their own property but to that of the Jews as well. Subsequent to victory, the Jews were amenable to a reasonable solution of the Arab refugee problem within the framework of a broad peace agreement. They could not be expected to harbor within their narrow borders an enemy population equal to their own. The Arab leadership has consistently refused to make peace. The Jews have permitted the reuniting of Arab families, some infiltration, and are holding Arab property, though used by Jews, under a trusteeship. Ultimately when peace is made, there will be reimbursement. But the time has now passed for a resettlement of these Arabs in Israel. The element of injustice in the situation disturbs the conscience of many Jews. However, common sense points to the wisdom of settling these Arabs in sparsely populated Arab countries, rather than as an unhappy, unassimilable element in the struggling Jewish state. As part of a general peace settlement, the Jews will be prepared to make a substantial financial contribution to such a program.

3. *The refugee problem.* Though pressing, it is not paramount. The chief obstacle to peace is the continuing intransigeance of the Arab rulers. To a considerable extent they are captives of their own fanaticism, as the fate of Abdullah proves. It simply is not healthy for any Arab ruler to display any reasonableness on the subject of peace with Israel.

How can Jews penetrate this fanatical animosity? To some extent they can be aided by the great Western powers which exercise considerable, though not controlling, influence in the Middle East. Basically, however, the approach must be through the Arab masses. The rulers are corrupt and venal. King Farouk of Egypt, gambling away $72,000 in a night while Egyptian peasants work for a few cents per day, is one example. The Arab world is a feudal world, with the few holding the many in ignorance, superstition, disease and destitution. Naturally these rulers fear Israel for it points the way to an emancipation which will be their undoing. Somehow, some way, the Arab peoples must be helped to recognize in Israel's social progress and modern techniques, not an enemy but an ally.

—Dr. Bernstein, a trustee of The Church Peace Union, is a vice-president of the World Alliance and Rabbi of Temple B'rith Kodesh in Rochester, New York. He is author of the recent book, WHAT THE JEWS BELIEVE. *Over 40,000 copies of this book, now in its fourth edition, have already been sold.*

THE USSR AND ITS BACKGROUND IN RECENT BOOKS

During the continuing power struggle taking place in today's world, it is of cardinal importance to strive for a deeper comprehension of the Soviet Union and its relations with the Western countries. The number of books on the USSR being published is overwhelmingly large. In this brief survey only a comparatively few of the more important volumes can be noted.

Introductory. The outstanding single book to read in order to gain a profound understanding of the East-West struggle is Barrington Moore's distinguished and highly readable *Soviet Politics — The Dilemma of Power* (Harvard University Press. 1950. 503 pp. $6.00). A brief guide to the rules of Politburo behavior, carefully organized under 20 headings, is found in *The Operational Code of the Politburo* by Nathan Leites (McGraw-Hill. 1951. 100 pp. $3.00), an exceptionally useful book. Two other volumes are valuable for general background: (1) *The Soviet Union: Background, Ideology, Reality* (University of Notre Dame Press. 1951. 216 pp. $3.50), a symposium written by able scholars and edited by Waldemar Gurian and (2) *The Soviet State and Its Inception* by Harry Best (Philosophical. 1951. 448 pp. $6.00), a general sociological appraisal of Russia before the revolution (geography, economy, religion, etc.) and of the USSR (industry, education, etc.).

The People and the Land. An engrossing series of essays comprises *The People of Great Russia: A Psychological Study* by Geoffrey Gorer and John Rickman (Chanticleer. 1950. 236 pp. $3.00). The vast collection of *Russian Folklore* by Y. M. Sokolov (Macmillan. 1950. 760 pp. $10.00) reveals many facets of Russian life and behavior. *Geography of Russia* by N. T. Mirov (John Wiley. 1951. 362 pp. $6.50) is a competent presentation of the subject, dealt with at even greater length in L. S. Berg's illustrated book, *Natural Regions of the USSR* (Macmillan. 1950. 436 pp. $10.00). Soloman M. Schwarz makes a specialized and highly valuable study about Soviet theory and practice in dealing with minority groups, with particular emphasis on Russo-Jewish relations, in *The Jews in the Soviet Union* (Syracuse University Press. 1951. 380 pp. $5.00).

History. *America Faces Russia* by Thomas A. Bailey (Cornell University Press. 1950. 375 pp. $4.00) is a fascinating exposition of Russian-American relations from early times to our day. The first volume of a three-volume history of Soviet Russia by E. H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution,* 1917-1923 (Macmillan. 1951. 430 pp. $5.00), is a scholarly, thoroughly documented work. Rudolf Schlesinger in *Marx: His Time and Ours* (Augustus M. Kelley. 1950. 440 pp. $4.50) has a philosophical approach; difficult but rewarding reading. Many USA citizens are not aware of this country's part in the Allied intervention in the post-revolution civil war in Russia, a subject covered in John Albert White's *The Siberian Intervention* (Princeton University Press. 1950. 471 pp. $6.00). A book of quite a different type is *Journey for Our Time,* the travel journals in Russia of the Marquis de Custine (Pellegrini & Cudahy. 1951. 338 pp. $4.00).

Foreign Policy. A definitive study of recent Soviet diplomatic history is the fully documented, comprehensive work by Max Beloff, *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia* (Vol. I, 1929-1936. 261 pp. $3.00; Vol. II, 1936-1941. 434 pp. $4.25; Oxford University Press. 1949). Max M. Laserson provides background for earlier years in his detailed analysis of *The American Impact on Russia: Diplomatic and Ideological* 1784-1917 (Macmillan. 1950. 441 pp. $5.00). Both are valuable books, especially for the advanced student. A. Rossi in his volume on *The Russo-German Alliance,* 1939-1941 (Beacon. 1951. 218 pp. $2.75) gives a succinct interpretation of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Economy. *Russia's Soviet Economy* by Harry Schwartz (Prentice-Hall. 1950. 592 pp. $6.65), a detailed but readable survey, is an excellent and important book for the general reader as well as for the scholar. A more specialized volume, *Economic Geography of the USSR* (Macmillan. 1949. 620 pp. $10.00) was written by three Soviet citizens, S. S. Balzak, V. J. Vasyutin and Ya. G. Feigin. A shorter work which deals primarily with the Soviet economy but also has chapters on politics, government, and "Soviet democracy" is the revised edition of *Toward an Understanding of the USSR* by Michael T. Florinsky (Macmillan. 1951. 223 pp. $3.00).

Thought Control. *Public Opinion in Soviet Russia* (Harvard University Press. 1950. 379 pp. $5.00) by Alex Inkeles is an extremely able sociological analysis in which the author shows that public opinion in the USSR is not a spontaneous growth but is rationally developed by a vast apparatus for mass persuasion. With this volume it would be stimulating to read *The Soviet Image of the United States* by Frederick C. Barghoorn (Harcourt, Brace. 1950. 297 pp. $4.00), the thesis of which is that Soviet propaganda directed against the USA is "one of the main instruments of the Kremlin's aggressive foreign policy".

Religion. Serge Bolshakoff in *Russian Nonconformity* (Westminister Press. 1950. 192 pp. $3.00) has prepared a detailed historical survey of nonconformist groups in Russia and their "struggles for religious

(Continued on Page 9)

—ALEXANDER in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*

Suggesting They Use the Drawbridge

Eisenhower's Plea for European Union

General Dwight D. Eisenhower, during the past summer, made in London a dramatic and eloquent appeal for European federation. His statement is vitally important. The excerpts here printed are taken from the text of the prepared notes for a speech which the General delivered at a dinner of the English-Speaking Union.

". . . . It is a truism that where, among partners, strength is demanded in its fullness, unity is the first requisite. Without unity, the effort becomes less powerful in application, less decisive in result. This fact has special application in Europe. It would be difficult indeed to overstate the benefits, in these years of stress and tension, that would accrue to NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] if the free nations of Europe were truly a unit.

"But in that vital region, history, custom, language and prejudice have combined to hamper integration. Progress has been and is hobbled by a web of customs barriers interlaced with bilateral agreements, multilateral cartels, local shortages and economic monstrosities. How tragic! Freemen, facing the specter of political bondage, are crippled by artificial bonds that they themselves have forged, and they alone can loosen! Here is a task to challenge the efforts of the wisest statesmen, the best economists, the most brilliant diplomats. . . .

"Europe cannot attain the towering material stature possible to its peoples' skills and spirit so long as it is divided by patchwork territorial fences. They foster localized instead of common interest! They pyramid every cost with middlemen, tariffs, taxes and overheads. Barred, absolutely, are the efficient division of labor and resources and the easy flow of trade. In the political field, these barriers promote distrust and suspicion. They serve vested interests at the expense of peoples and prevent truly concerted action for Europe's own and obvious good. . . .

"I have no doubts as to the capacity of NATO to surmount even the formidable obstacles imposed upon us by the political facts of present-day Europe.

"Yet with the handicaps of enforced division, it is clear that even the minimum essential security effort will seriously strain the resources of Europe. We ignore this danger at our peril, since the effects of economic failure would be disastrous upon spiritual and material strength alike. True security never rests upon the shoulders of men denied a decent present and the hope of a better future.

"But with unity achieved, Europe could build adequate security and, at the same time, continue the march of human betterment that has characterized Western civilization. Once united, the farms and factories of France and Belgium, the foundries of Germany, the rich farmlands of Holland and Denmark, the skilled labor of Italy, will produce miracles for the common good. In such unity is a secure future for these peoples. It would mean early independence of aid from America and other Atlantic countries. The coffers, mines and factories of that continent are not inexhaustible. Dependence upon them must be minimized by the maximum in cooperative effort. The establishment of a workable European federation would go far to create confidence among people everywhere that Europe was doing its full and vital share in giving this cooperation. . . ."

ON THE POLITICAL FRONT

San Francisco Peace Negotiations

It is impossible in this era of tension to hold international conferences without having them used as propaganda weapons. It was the fond hope of the United States that the Japanese peace treaty conference would involve a short amicable discussion between nations holding similar views. The reverse is the case. Russia has, unexpectedly, decided to attend. India's pressure as a great Asian power was desired and expected. She has decided to boycott the talks. The Asian states attending are Japan, the Philippine Republic, Indonesia and Indo-China. Not represented are Nationalist China, Communist China, India, Burma, North Korea and South Korea. Such a situation, of course, offers many propaganda opportunities for communists both in Asia and Europe.

The reason for the absence of India is widely misunderstood. She has no desire to split with the West. She knows full well that the strength of the West is all that stands between her and communist encroachment. Nor is Nehru a "communist". India stands for "Asia for the Asians". This is a magic phrase that can give her the leadership of free Asia and perhaps some day, also of China. In a note to the United States India stated three objections to the proposed treaty: (1) There is no provision for the return of Formosa to China. (2) There is no provision for the return of the Ryukyu and Bouin Islands to Japan. (3) There should be no provision for the "stationing or retention" of foreign armed forces in Japan. In putting forward these objections it must be assumed that India voices a deep-seated Asian distrust of the West.

Little can be gained by branding India an ungrateful, if not a stupid, "fellow traveler". Much may be gained by encouraging India to lead other Asian nations in signing separate peace treaties with Japan. For at this stage it seems that Asian leadership holds much more promise in halting the spread of communism than Western leadership.

Kashmir

One of the knottiest problems of the UN has been the dispute between India and Pakistan over the states of Kashmir and Jammu. For two and a half years the two rival armies have been facing each other over a cease-fire line. In recent weeks an increasing number of incidents of violence have been reported. India has charged that a continuance of truce violations might lead to an outbreak of hostilities. Pakistan has charged India with an unnecessary build-up of military forces in the area.

Amid all these difficulties Dr. Frank Graham, UN representative, has been trying to ascertain facts and draw up a report for the Security Council. India which originally took the question to the Securit Council, now rejects its jurisdiction. India now is i possession of two-thirds of the disputed territory an steadfastly refuses to budge. Meanwhile public opinio in Pakistan has reached a high pitch of excitement The UN might well send a strong team of observer to the troubled area. Such evidence of UN concer might have a valuable restraining influence.

Poor Economy?

Many and serious are the implications of cuttin foreign aid at this time. The United States has for th last five years spent billions in rehabilitating and aid ing the war-wrecked economies of other lands. B doing so she has saved the Western way of life in muc of Europe and has also built a ring of allies.

The question now is, has Western Europe recovere sufficiently economically and morally? Has she reache the point where she can remain politically stable wit a minimum of aid, while carrying out the enormou rearmament program that we desire? A large par about 5/6, of proposed aid to Europe will be in th form of armaments. There are many who believe tha foreign aid dollars, rather than finished arms, woul save us money and aid the recipient countries. Th *New York Times* cites an example of how $312,10 worth of materials can be turned into $8,000,000 wort of arms by France. Our labor costs would make th same finished product much higher. More important sending finished products would not, as ERP en visaged, aid the French economy.

Hand in hand with the shift from economic aid t armament supply has gone the tendency to restric trade between Eastern and Western Europe. Few U actions have caused more irritation or have done mor damage to the goodwill built up by ERP. It is unde standable that with the increase in USA-USSR tensio this country should take steps to avoid strengthenin its rival. This was done first by trying to curb th shipment of arms to the East. Now the attempt is bein made to bar the shipment of all "strategic material" But the grim fact is that if Western Europe does no import coal, grains, timber, and meat from Easter Europe, she must spend dollars to get them els where. If East-West trade is severed the US ta payer must decide to (1) increase dollar aid, (2 supply at a loss to Western Europe products former secured through East-West trade channels, or (3) und the good of ERP and weaken Western Europe.

No nation likes to be dictated to, particularly i matters of internal economy. Nothing can endange our position as much as dictating to our allies witho apparent regard for their own national interests.

RECOMMENDED MAGAZINE ARTICLES

Widening Boundaries of National Interest by Nelson A. Rockefeller. (*Foreign Affairs,* July 1951.)

A detailed appraisal of the entire USA technical cooperation program, written by the chairman of the International Development Advisory Board. This program is based, Mr. Rockefeller says, upon the acceptance of "the fact of interdependence and community of interest among the United States, Western Europe and the underdeveloped areas of the free world".

Is a "Christian Foreign Policy" Possible? by Fred W. Riggs. (*Religion in Life,* Summer 1951.)

Mr. Riggs develops the thesis that the Christian ideals can and should be made relevant to the formulation of USA foreign policy, and that our "failure to bear consistent witness to a positive and coherent faith lies at the very root of the American failure, especially in its dealings with Asia". An unusually important essay.

The Power of Choice by Archibald MacLeish. (*Atlantic,* August 1951.)

Mr. MacLeish eloquently develops the theme that Americans must regain their confidence, as a free people, in the power of human choice to make the future. A somewhat similar approach to the present world situation is taken by Barbara Ward in her brilliant article, "The Silent Revolution" (*Atlantic,* July 1951).

The Story of Douglas MacArthur by R. H. Rovere & A. M. Schlesinger, Jr. (*Harper's,* July 1951.)

One of the most illuminating, comprehensive and interesting analyses of the MacArthur saga that has appeared in print.

American Wars and Critical Historians by Dexter Perkins. (*Yale Review,* Summer 1951.)

This article deals with the tendency of revisionist historians in this country to assign the responsibility for past wars to their own government, thus expressing the general reaction of Americans in favor of peace and a somewhat guilty conscience about participation in any war. In this same issue appeared two other essays worth reading: "Lessons of the Korean War" by H. A. DeWeerd and "The Myth of Eastern Manpower" by Kathleen Thayer.

Human Relations in the Near East by Alford Carleton. (*The Ecumenical Review,* July 1951.)

An article, anti-Zionist in tone, based on an address given at the Beirut Conference on Refugees in May 1951, written by the president of Aleppo College, Syria.

Soviet Policy in China by Max Beloff. (*International Affairs,* July 1951.)

This excellent article defends the point of view that Communist China is not a satellite, but a "junior partner" of Soviet Russia (much as Italy was to Nazi Germany). In this same journal appears Carlo Schmid's "Germany and Europe", in which a Social Democrat explains his party's attitude toward German rearmament.

The Move Toward Christian Unity by Karl Adam. (*The Commonweal,* August 10, 1951.)

A significant essay. The distinguished author of *The Spirit of Catholicism* outlines ways in which both Catholics and Protestants have responsibility for the disruption of Christendom.

(*Continued from Page* 6)

freedom and social justice". A stimulating analysis of the issue between Christianity and Marxist communism is made by M. V. C. Jeffreys in *Kingdom of This World* (Morehouse-Gorham, London. 1950. 128 pp. $1.80).

Law. *Justice in Russia* by Harold J. Berman (Harvard University Press. 1950. 322 pp. $4.75) is a penetrating analytical interpretation of the Soviet legal system. A book by F. Beck and W. Godin, originally written in German, entitled *Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession* (Viking. 1951. 277 pp. $3.50) is actually a psychological study made by a scientist and an historian of different nationalities, who met in a Soviet prison. The book also throws considerable light on Soviet legal practices.

Education. *Russia's Educational Heritage* by William H. E. Johnson (Rutgers University Press. 1950. 351 pp. $5.00) interprets the major educational policies and programs during the last three centuries of the Tsarist regime; the book was written, the author explains, "in the hope that, through an analysis of earlier Russian educational history, some light may be shed upon the motivations behind certain Soviet pedagogical procedures". Such procedures are illustrated in *American Education through the Soviet Looking Glass.* (Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University. 1951. 48 pp. $.50), an analysis of an article by N. K. Goncharov about the schools in the USA.

The Arts. That one must understand the arts of a nation in order to have even a minimal insight into the people's character is a truism especially applicable to the Russians. Two recent books on the Russian arts are: (1) *History of the Russian Theatre* (17th through 19th century) by B. V. Varneke (Macmillan. 1951. 459 pp. $6.50); (2) *Soviet Russian Literature,* 1917-1950 by Gleb Struve (University of Oklahoma Press. 1951. 414 pp. $5.00). The attempt to mobilize literature for use as propaganda is clearly described in a study by Harriet Borland entitled *Soviet Literary Theory and Practice during the First Five-Year Plan,* 1928-32 (King's Crown. 1950. 256 pp. $3.50).

Soviet Imperialism. The whole question of the USSR's "drive toward world domination" is explored with perspicacity in Ernest Day Carman's *Soviet Imperialism* (Public Affairs Press. 1950. 175 pp. $3.25) and Edmund A. Walsh's *Total Empire* (Bruce. 1951. 293 pp. $3.50). A different and more limited approach to the same problem is made in the thorough-going study of Pan-Slavism by Albert Mousset, *The World of the Slavs* (Praeger. 1950. 204 pp. $3.00).

The USSR and Asia. A highly informative review of Sino-Soviet relations, which includes a survey of Chinese-Tsarist contacts from 1618-1917, has been written by Aitchen K. Wu: *China and the Soviet Union* (John Day. 1950. 434 pp. $6.00). *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* by Benjamin I. Schwartz (Harvard University Press. 1951. 258 pp. $4.00) while dealing primarily with the origin of communism in China gives further background on Chinese relations with the USSR.

BOOKS RELATED TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WINNING THE PEACE

Peace Can Be Won by Paul G. Hoffman. Doubleday. 1951. 188 pp. $2.50.

A forceful, terse presentation of an imaginative, positive and comprehensive program for a durable peace, written by the director of the Ford Foundation.

Wake Up or Blow Up by Frank C. Laubach. Revell. 1951. 160 pp. $2.00.

A vividly written, hard-hitting plea to the leaders of the free world to "lift the world or lose it".

World Tensions: The Psychopathology of International Relations ed. by George W. Kisker. Prentice-Hall. 1951. 324 pp. $5.00.

Interesting and revealing essays, by outstanding psychologists and psychiatrists from twenty different nations, dealing with the causes and cure of world tensions.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

On Being Human by Ashley Montagu. Henry Schuman. 1950. 122 pp. $1.95.

The impulse toward cooperation is present in man at birth, and is the most dominant of all the drives in him: this thesis Professor Montagu develops to combat the nineteenth century "survival of the fittest" idea and to support the principle of mutuality as fundamental to human life. A similar theme is dealt with by biologists in two other recent books: (1) *Cooperation Among Animals with Human Implications* by W. C. Allee (Henry Schuman. 1951. 233 pp. $3.50) and (2) *Cell and Psyche: The Biology of Purpose* by Edmund W. Sinnott (University of North Carolina Press. 1950. 121 pp. $2.00).

Resolving Social Conflicts by Kurt Lewin. Harper. 1948. 230 pp. $3.50.

The pioneer character of Dr. Lewin's research and writing in social psychology is well known. This volume, published after his death, includes papers and monographs written at various times. Their unifying theme, as Dr. Gordon W. Allport says in his foreword, is: "The group to which an individual belongs is the ground of his perceptions, his feelings, and his actions." A second volume of Dr. Lewin's essays — "Selected Theoretical Papers" — has been issued under the title, *Field Theory in Social Science* (Harper. 1951. 346 pp. $5.00).

Altruistic Love: A Study of American Good Neighbors and Christian Saints by P. A. Sorokin. Beacon. 1950. 253 pp. $3.00.

This significant volume is the first in a series of studies being made at the Harvard Research Center in Altruistic Integration and Creativity. The general thesis of these studies is that individual and group egotisms must be transcended by altruistic love if our culture is again to be creative. With this book it would be profitable to read a symposium edited by Dr. Sorokin, *Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior* (Beacon. 1950. 353 pp. $4.00).

MAN AND THE STATE

Man and the State by Jacques Maritain. University of Chicago Press. 1951. 219 pp. $3.50.

A profound, stimulating book, written by a distinguished Neo-Thomist scholar.

Man and State by Eivind Berggrav. Muhlenberg. 1951. 319 pp. $4.00.

An impassioned tract in which Bishop Berggrav traces the historical roots of totalitarianism, diagnoses the "sickness of our time", and pleads for safeguarding genuine freedom.

HISTORY

A Short History of the Second World War by H. C O'Neill. Praeger. 1951. 345 pp. $4.00.

A brief, amazingly comprehensive history of World War I and its social and political significance.

Ideas and Men by Crane Brinton. Prentice-Hall. 195(587 pp. $6.00.

An "intellectual history" of the West, written with very and provocative in style.

This Age of Conflict by F. P. Chambers, C. P. Harri and C. C. Bayley. Harcourt, Brace. 1950 (revised ed tion). 932 pp. $5.50.

A brilliant interpretation of world events from 1914 t the present, with special attention to international relation

A World History of Our Own Times by Quincy Howe Simon and Schuster. 1949. 695 pp. $5.00.

The first volume of a fascinating history of the 20t century, which carries the story to 1918.

ASIA

Two Kinds of Time by Graham Peck. Houghto Mifflin. 1950. 725 pp. $4.00.

A fascinating personal account of many years experienc in China.

Korean-American Relations ed. by George M. McCun and John A. Harrison. University of California Pres 1951. 163 pp. $2.50.

The first of three volumes of documents on Korean American relations from 1883 to 1905.

Afghanistan by W. K. Fraser-Tytler. Oxford. 195(330 pp. $5.00.

A basic study of the land, people and politics of Centra Asia. The author has made a great contribution to th understanding of Afghanistan and its vital strategic rol

The State of Asia by Lawrence K. Rosinger and Asso ciates. Knopf. 1951. 546 pp. $6.00.

A simply-written, up-to-date survey of political and ec nomic issues in Asia since 1945, with reference to the im pact of such developments on the West.

Talks With Nehru. John Day. 1951. 64 pp. $2.00.

These recorded interviews arranged by Norman Cousin concern the theoretical social and political standards o Jawaharlal Nehru.

India Afire by Clare and Harris Wofford, Jr. Joh Day. 1951. 344 pp. $2.50.

An interesting and challenging travelogue and study o Indian and Pakistani problems — economic, political, et a

ECONOMICS

Landmarks of Economic Thought by John M. Fergu son. Longmans, Green. 1950. 320 pp. $2.50.

A survey of economic theory. Useful for the gener reader because of its compressed style and objective ap proach.

Ten Great Economists from Marx to Keynes by Josep A. Schumpeter. Oxford. 1951. 305 pp. $4.75.

Outstandingly brilliant essays by an economist who ha deep learning and an engaging style of writing. The essa on Marx is of particular value.

Economic Ideas by Ferdynand Zweig. Prentice-Hal 1950. 197 pp. $3.00.

An excellent brief and clear-cut interpretation of econom "ideas" that have made a marked impact on history.

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Individual ethics and world culture
Walter R. Matthews
World faith for world peace
Amiya Chakravarty
Is there a nascent world culture?
Martin C. D'Arcy, S.J.
Cathedral Lamp
Gabriela Mistral
Biographical sketches
Bibliography
Index

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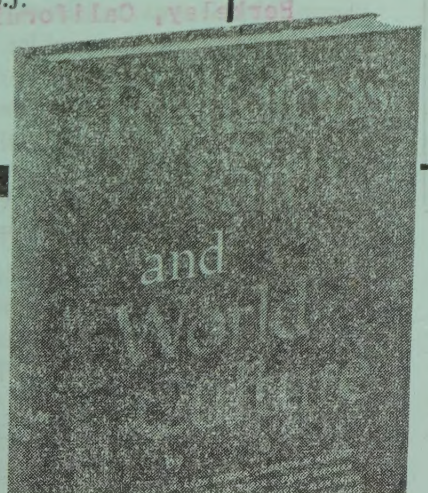

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SUGGESTED READING

Man's Vast Future by A. Powell Davies. Farrar, Straus and Young. 1951. 58 pp. $1.50.

An incisive, lucid definition of democracy as a *faith,* as a *way of life,* and as a *universal purpose.* This eloquent tract merits careful reading and recommendation to congregation members and friends.

National Security and Individual Freedom by Harold D. Lasswell. McGraw-Hill. 1950. 259 pp. $3.50.

An analysis of the dual necessity to increase government controls, and to retain civil liberties and a free economy — both requirements for an authentic democratic society.

Committees and Conferences: How to Lead Them by William E. Utterback. Rinehart. 1950. 248 pp. $3.25.

A valuable, readable guidebook for all who employ the discussion method. Bibliographies on public questions.

Church Lobbying in the Nation's Capital by Luke Ebersole. Macmillan. 1951. 195 pp. $2.75.

This objective study of the lobbying practices of religious organizations will be of special interest for those who have been concerned with the necessity and dangers of pressure exerted by church groups on national legislators.

Man and God by Victor Gollancz. Houghton Mifflin. 1951. 576 pp. $3.75.

An anthology in which the passages were "chosen and arranged to express a mood about the human and divine". An inspiring book with a wise selection of quotations.

The Wings of Faith by H. V. Martin. Philosophical Library. 1951. 132 pp. $2.75.

A stimulating and helpful introduction to the intricacies of Kierkegaardian thought.

Ordeal by Slander by Owen Lattimore. Bantam Boo 1950. 198 pp. 25 cents.

No one should miss reading this fascinating and somewh terrifying account of Mr. Lattimore's brilliant defense bef the Senate subcommittee appointed to investigate char of communism in the Department of State, when he co pletely cleared himself of the accusations of being the " Russian espionage agent" in the USA.

Culture Worlds by Richard Joel Russell and Fr Bowerman Kniffen. Macmillan. 1951. 620 pp. $6.00.

A study of the earth as a composite of seven distinct c ture worlds presents a new and vitally important appro to geography. Over 200 maps and illustrations.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Dogma and Compulsion by Theodor Reik. International U versities Press. 1951. 332 pp. $5.00.

The Cultural Concept of Christianity by Arthur W. Calho Wm. B. Erdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1950. 155 pp. $2

The Impact of America on European Culture by Bertra Russell, et al. Beacon. 1951. 100 pp. $1.75.

Herbert Hoover's Latin-American Policy by Alexan DeConde. Stanford University Press. 1951. 154 pp. $3.00.

The Historic Faith and A Changing World by W. Norm Pittenger. Oxford. 1950. 181 pp. $2.50.

The Church Through the Ages by Mildred C. Luckha Association. 1951. 244 pp. $3.00.

Zero by Robert Payne. John Day. 1950. 270 pp. $3.50.

Further Studies in a Dying Culture by Christopher Caudw Dodd, Mead. 1949. 256 pp. $2.75.

Charles Freer Andrews by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marj Sykes. Harper. 1950. 334 pp. $3.75.

History: Its Purpose and Method by G. N. Renier. Bea Boston. 1950. 272 pp. $3.00.

Congress; Corruption and Compromise by H. H. Wilson. Ri hart. 1951. 337 pp. $3.50.

World Alliance News Letter

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